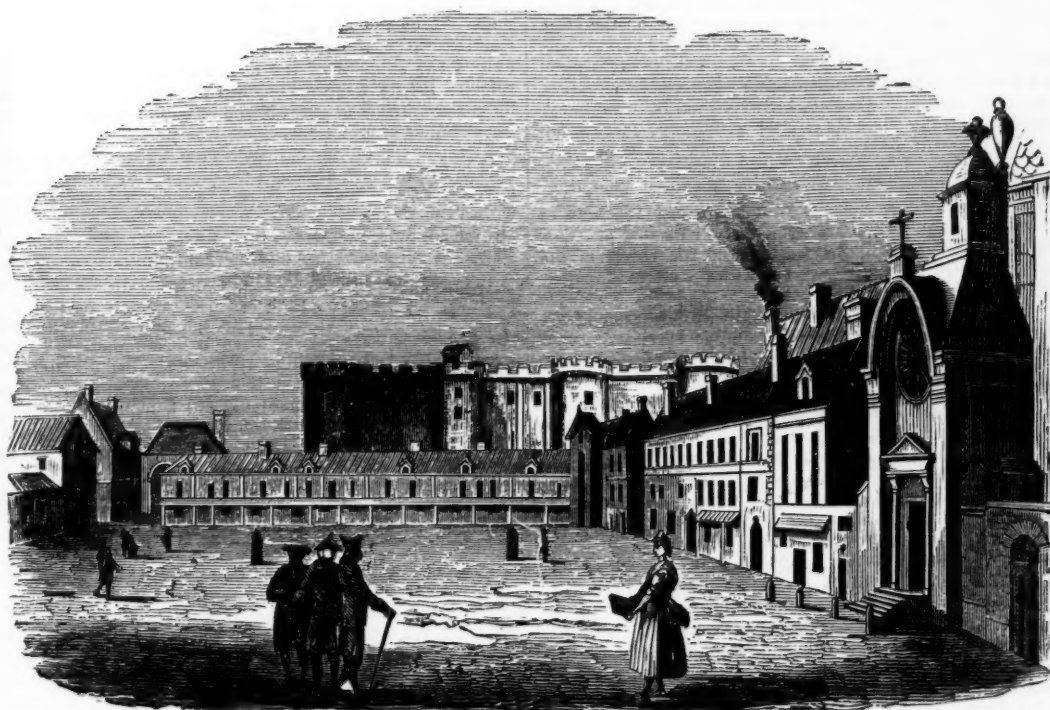




SOME ACCOUNT OF PARIS, HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE.

PART THE FOURTH.



RUE ST. ANTOINE AND THE BASTILLE, AS THEY APPEARED IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

FORMATION OF THE CATHOLIC LEAGUE.

In the Supplement for December, we brought down our sketch of the history of Paris to that dreadful period when Protestants were doomed to suffer a heavy persecution for the conscientious worship of the Almighty in the principles of the Reformed Church. We now resume our sketch, and shall rapidly review the principal events in which Paris was concerned, from the massacre of St. Bartholomew to about the year 1780.

Charles the Ninth, the weak and wicked prince under whose reign the massacre was perpetrated, died in 1572, in dreadful agonies of body and mind,—the victim at once of a slow fever, and of the yet more terrible infliction of stinging remorse. He was succeeded by his brother, Henry the Third, who reigned about sixteen years. Educated in the same school, placed in similar circumstances, directed by the same councils as his brother, he seemed likely to hold the same conduct, and to entertain the same principles. But although he was as great a persecutor, as perfidious and as superstitious as Charles, he was not so sanguinary; but delighted more in scenes of licentious debauchery. He was, to a considerable extent, a tool in the hands of Rome and Spain; and he readily consented to continue the persecution of the Protestants, provided his own private pleasures were not interfered with.

But five years of warring against the Protestants produced no definite results; and, weary of the contest, Henry consented to a kind of treaty, by which liberty of conscience and the public exercise of religion were granted to the Protestants, but with the restriction, that they were not to

preach within two leagues of Paris, nor in any other part where the Court might be: eight towns were also given up to them. This concession alarmed the Catholic party; and Rome, Spain, and the Guises formed the *Catholic League*, an association whose object was to uphold Catholic power against all attempts of the Protestants. As one of the articles of this league was, that the Catholics were to be in future entirely dependent on the chief of the league, and were to execute whatever he commanded, the king thought proper to become himself the chief of it, in order to keep some authority over an association which might else prove dangerous to him. The result of this combination, or association, was, that the contest with the Catholics recommenced, and did not terminate as long as the king lived. But the members of the league were worthy of each other, and showed how little mutual dependence was placed: the Duke of Guise soon showed hostility to the king,—was assassinated by his order,—and the king himself was finally assassinated, in 1588, by a monk, named Jacques Clement, instigated, as is supposed, by the leaguers.

The Capuchins were first established in Paris in this reign. The Court of Rome, alarmed at the progress of Protestantism, determined to multiply the number of its emissaries. Paris was already surcharged with monasteries and monks, convents for both sexes, and religious communities of every name and kind. To these were added Jesuits and Capuchins; the former of whom undertook to gain spiritual power over the higher orders, and the latter over the poor and humble. The Capuchins afterwards became some of the most zealous agents of the Papal power,

while the Jesuits added a great deal of subtle sagacity to their zeal.

DAY OF THE BARRICADES.

The city of Paris, during this reign, suffered many of those vicissitudes which influenced France generally; but there was one day, called the *Day of the Barricades*, in which Paris showed the great power which a dense population, suddenly excited, can manifest in political turmoils. We have mentioned that Henry the Third joined the leaguers, in order to shield himself from their power; but it appears that the Duke of Guise had something more than the support of the Catholic cause in view; for although Henry was a zealous Catholic, there was a never-ceasing hostility on the part of the duke. In truth, he aimed at dethroning the king, and assuming the reins of regal power himself. Guise contrived to gain the goodwill of the Parisians, and to draw down odium on the king. He so far succeeded in this plan as to determine on a bold proceeding on the 12th of May, 1588. On the morning of that day, the king, aware that there was a plot in operation, surrounded himself with 4000 Swiss guards, who placed themselves in the Place de Grève; while 2000 more occupied the different bridges of Paris. This was done quite early in the morning, and by four o'clock, parties of the populace were seen assembling, and a cry of "*To arms*" was raised. Chains were speedily stretched across the ends of the streets, while a party of armed students and artisans, headed by the Duke of Brissac, one of the chiefs of the league, tore up the pavement, and with the stones, together with earth trodden hard in casks, constructed a *barricade* in the Place Maubert, in the south-west quarter of the town. By noon of the same day, similar barricades were erected in all the principal streets, the effect of which was to cut off the communication of the royal troops from one part of the city to the other. These barricades were defended by parties of musqueteers; while the inhabitants were stationed at the roofs and windows of the houses to fire, or to hurl stones at the soldiers beneath. The soldiers attempted to disperse the assemblages of armed citizens; but they were almost everywhere beaten back and defeated.

The king had now no course to pursue than to treat with the Duke of Guise, the acknowledged head of the assailants. The duke undertook to stop the carnage which the people were making among the soldiers. He rode among the people, and his orders to that effect were instantly obeyed, amid cries of "*Guise for ever!*" Guise intended to make use of his newly-gained advantage on the following morning; but, during the night, the king contrived to escape from the Louvre, and left Paris. Thus ended the "*day of the barricades*."

SIEGE OF PARIS BY HENRY OF NAVARRE.

The death of the king, which we have said was the work of Jacques Clement, occurred at St. Cloud, while Henry, together with Henry of Navarre, were laying plans for besieging Paris. When the king was dead, Henry of Navarre caused himself to be proclaimed king, under the title of Henry the Fourth. His claim to the throne rested on the following grounds. He was the grandson of the King of Navarre, a country which, at that time, had not yet been united to France. He therefore inherited the throne of Navarre; and having married the sister of Charles the Ninth, claimed, on the death of Henry the Third, the French crown, as being the nearest relative to the deceased king. This claim appears to have been just; but it was not so deemed, for interest' sake, by the bigoted Catholics who then held sway in France. Henry of Navarre had supported the cause of the Huguenots, or Protestants, with great vigour, and had naturally earned the deadly hatred of the Catholics on that account. As he was at St. Cloud when the king died, the Catholics, or leaguers, were resolved not to permit him to enter Paris, but to set up one of their own party as king.

Henry of Navarre, whom we shall now call Henry the Fourth, collected together all his troops in order to take by force the city which resisted his demands. On the 31st of October, he appeared with his army before Paris, and immediately began to secure the *fauxbourg*, or suburb of St. Germain. In doing so, much unnecessary and cruel shedding of blood tarnished the reputation of Henry's army. One of the divisions of his troops enclosed a crowd of the inhabitants of St. Germain, in the market-place, and massacred 400 of them, in a space of ground less than 200 paces in extent. The unfortunates made no attempt

to defend themselves; and the General said that at last he became weary of merely striking them to the ground, and declared that he would kill no more of them.

After a highly discreditable scene of pillage, the troops of Henry retired from Paris, in order to lay siege to Etampes. But in the May of the following year, (1589,) he again presented himself before the walls of Paris, and then commenced a siege which, for the exquisite misery suffered by the humbler classes of the besieged, has been rarely excelled in the history of nations. We must detail this siege somewhat fully.

Henry determined to starve out the city, instead of assaulting it; and for that purpose blockaded it on every side, in order that no provisions should be conveyed into the city. His first operation, therefore, was to gain possession of all the *fauxbourgs* that surrounded the city walls. He divided his army into ten portions, and at twelve o'clock at midnight, on the 8th of May, these ten divisions attacked simultaneously the ten *fauxbourgs*, which at that time formed the suburbs of the city, and soon conquered the whole. Henry was thus enabled to bring his forces close up to the barriers or gates of the city, and thus to prevent the entrance of provisions.

The leaders of the besieged were, however, resolved to hold out to the last, although the prospect before them was terrible; for they had not more than a fortnight's provisions within the walls. But as Henry drew off a portion of his army for a time, in order to take possession of Nantes, the Parisians succeeded in obtaining some additional provisions. A message was sent to demand succour from the Duke of Parma; and when Henry's army had completely hemmed in the city, a census of the population and an inventory of the provisions were taken, when it was found that there were 200,000 human beings within the walls, together with enough wheat for one month's consumption, and 1500 hogs-heads of oats. Never, perhaps, did a month's provisions appear a more cherished treasure.

The ecclesiastical authorities of the city now exerted all the well known authority of the priesthood of the Romish faith to keep in subjection those of the Parisians who were disposed to murmur at the prospect before them. They preached sermons, in which they inveighed most outrageously against the *heretic* besieger (for it must be borne in mind that a large share of the hostility of the clergy and nobles against Henry was due to the difference of religion between him and them, although he had previously made a show of conversion); and they called down the vengeance of Heaven on all who should dare to consider his claims as well-founded. The priests also adopted the expedient of reading from their pulpits forged letters, purporting to come from the Duke de Mayenne, and announcing approaching succour. Spectacles and processions of various kinds were devised, in order to distract the attention of the people from their own sufferings. On one occasion, a sort of military review of ecclesiastics took place. The Bishop of Senlis walked at the head of the procession, followed by ecclesiastics walking four and four. Then followed the four mendicant orders, the Capuchins, the friars minims, and an assemblage of students. The chiefs of the religious orders carried each one a crucifix in the left hand and a halberd in the right; while others among them carried arquebusses, daggers, and other kinds of arms. Many of them wore helmets and corslets. A Scotch ecclesiastic, named Hamilton, acted as serjeant, marshalled them in order, stopped them when a hymn was to be sung, and then ordered them to march again.

But all this vain trifling was of little worth to the poor sufferers whom hunger began to attack. When the common stock of provisions was exhausted, the religious houses, which were found to be plentifully provided, were ordered to share their provisions with the rest. When even this store was gone, alarm seized on all. Henry had now so completely invested the city, that not the smallest quantity of food could be conveyed into it. The people urged the authorities to submit; but the latter, firm in their refusal, imprisoned, hanged, and even threw into the river, those who advised surrender; and a decree was passed, making it a crime punishable with death even to allude to such a step.

When the grain was all eaten, all the cats and dogs contained in the city were ordered to be killed, and cooked for the food of the poor: this was done in public kitchens, established in various parts of the city, where the meat was boiled in large cauldrons, and distributed every day. This supply, together with 200 horses, and 800 asses and mules,

lasted about a fortnight. The poor had then recourse to the skins of all these animals, which they devoured; to rats and mice, whenever they could be captured; and even to the bones of the heads of dogs, bruised into a kind of pulp. But those who devoured such food were found to survive but a short time; so that what with those, and others who died of positive starvation, two or three hundred persons were found lying dead in the streets every morning; a consequence of which was, that pestilence became added to their other sorrows.

When the siege had lasted about six weeks, some of the poor contrived, one dark night, to slide down from the wall into the moat, and, throwing themselves at Henry's feet, conjured him to allow them to leave the city. He was moved with their piteous tale, and, on the following day, allowed 3000 of the poorest inhabitants to leave the place. But as the Guise party resolutely refused to surrender, the relief to the besieged was but temporary. The citizens petitioned the governor—but in vain; and when the populace became clamorous, vast numbers of them were instantly hanged, in order to intimidate the rest. By this time, not a cat, a dog, a blade of grass, or an ear of corn was to be found in the place, and the sufferers actually pounded *slates*, and baked them for food: nay, even graves were rifled, and the dead bodies ground and baked in a similar manner. One more incident, and we must close this scene of horrors: two children having died, the starving mother salted their bodies, and, with a female servant, subsisted on them for several days.

When the siege had lasted three months, *one hundred thousand* persons had perished from hunger and disease, being one-half of the entire population. Henry himself was sickened at the thought of such a devastation, and occasionally permitted provision to be carried in; but as the leaguers, notwithstanding the scenes around them, still refused to yield, the Parisians found themselves again hemmed in, and reduced to despair. But their period of suffering now approached an end. The Duke of Parma, whose assistance had been so long looked for, approached the neighbourhood on August 30, and Henry immediately departed with his army from before Paris in order to give him battle. "At the dawn of day," says a French historian, "the sentinel perceived that the city was deserted by the enemy. Immediately cries of joy were heard along the walls. The inhabitants, aroused by these cries, could scarcely credit such unhopd-for good fortune: they ran to the ramparts to assure themselves with their own eyes that such was the fact. *A Te Deum* was immediately sung, the preacher, Panigarole, delivered a sermon, and arranged a grand procession. But the famishing inhabitants left this procession, and ran out into the neighbouring fields and villages in search of grass and herbage."

REIGN OF HENRI QUATRE—EDICT OF NANTES—

LOUIS THE THIRTEENTH.

It was four years after this before Henry the Fourth gained possession of Paris; in which interval he solemnly abjured the Protestant faith. But this did not satisfy the leaguers, who were obviously more influenced by political than religious feelings. He ultimately gained possession of Paris by giving the governor, Count de Brissac, a bribe of nearly two million livres. Henry and his troops entered secretly by the aid of the governor, and immediately took possession of the regal palace. The populace very soon became favourable, for it was not so much they, as the leaders of the Catholic party, who had been so hostile to Henry.

We cannot follow minutely the course of events which succeeded Henry's entry into Paris. We may merely observe, that so deadly was the hatred of the Catholic party toward him, that he was in constant fear of his life,—a circumstance sufficient to embitter the existence of any man. No less than seventeen distinct attempts at assassination were planned during his reign, and in these conspiracies, monks, priests, cardinals, and legates, figured so conspicuously as to show how deadly was the hostility of the Romish party to him. The eighteenth attempt was successful. He received intimation that an attempt was to be made on his life, and he was in a state of anxious suspense respecting it. At length, May 14, 1610, he was riding from the Louvre to the Arsenal, when the street through which he passed was blocked up with vehicles. His carriage was forced to stop; and as he was stooping to address the Duc d'Épernon on the opposite seat, a monk stepped up on the wheel of the carriage, and stabbed him through the open window of

the carriage. This monk's name was Ravaillac, and he afterwards died by horrible tortures.

It is difficult to view with a lenient eye the manner in which Henry made religion the tool of his political proceedings. But putting motives out of the question, the Protestant cause gained considerably during his reign. On the 13th of April, 1598, he passed the celebrated *Edict of Nantes*, which re-established in a solid and effective manner all the favours which had been granted to the reformed, and added more which had not been thought of before, particularly that of allowing them a free admission to all employments of trust, profit, and honour, establishing chambers in which the members of the two religions were equal, and the permitting their children to be educated without restraint in any of the universities.

Henry was succeeded by Louis the Thirteenth, under the regency of the queen-mother, Mary de Medicis. During the minority of the king there were repeated cabals between the queen-regent and the ambitious nobles; but when, in 1617, he came of age, and resumed the regal authority, he chose as his counsellor the talented and ambitious Cardinal Richelieu. The political events of this reign we cannot detail, but we must mention that religious wars broke out and distracted France. Notwithstanding the Edict of Nantes, the Catholic party renewed hostilities against the Protestants, and after many sanguinary scenes, the edict was confirmed in 1621. But this treaty did not last long, for hostilities broke out again; and it was not till 1628 that the religious wars which had distracted France were terminated. In one of the contests during Louis the Thirteenth's reign, the town of Negrepisse was besieged, and after having been taken, it was resolved to make a terrible example of the inhabitants, who had refused to surrender on any terms.—the inhabitants were *all* massacred, without distinction of sex, age, or rank! The wars in which the Protestants and Catholics of France had been engaged for so many years, had cost 1,000,000 of human lives, 150,000,000 livres of money, and the destruction of 9 cities, 400 villages, 2000 churches, 2000 monasteries, and 10,000 houses. The ultimate result of these terrible conflicts was, that the Protestant religion was admitted on a kind of sufferance into France, but possessed of but little influence. There were no particular attacks made on the rights and freedom of conscience of Protestants, until that most disastrous one under Louis the Fourteenth: a persecution which robbed France of some of its most valuable subjects. This will presently occupy our attention.

CIVIL WARS OF THE FRONDISTS.

Louis the Thirteenth, and his great minister Richelieu, both died in 1643, and the throne passed to his son Louis the Fourteenth. As the young king was, however, only five years of age, the kingdom was governed during his minority by his mother, Anne of Austria, widow of Louis the Thirteenth. France was in a very convulsed state. The court and the parliament espoused different interests, and a long series of cabals followed. In these Paris had its share, as on all similar occasions. Anne had taken to her counsel the able but profligate Cardinal Mazarin; and there now arose two parties, the court party, headed by Mazarin and the queen-regent, and the *Fronde*, or the *Fronde*, who comprised by far the larger portion of the parliament, and of the inhabitants of Paris. The appellation *Fronde* is said to have been derived from *frondeurs* or *slings*, and to denote that the party could overthrow Mazarin with the same ease as David slew Goliath. The following narration will show the manner in which the Fronde exhibited their power.

On the 26th of August 1648, Peter Broussel, one of the councillors of the parliament, and a distinguished member of the *Fronde*, was arrested by command of Mazarin, and conveyed to prison. Broussel had so ingratiated himself with the people generally, that he was called *Father of the People*, and *Patriarch of the Fronde*, and his detention excited a great ferment. A cry of rescue was almost immediately raised among the residents of the neighbourhood. This cry soon spread to every part of the city, the inhabitants flew to arms, the chains were stretched across the ends of the street, the pavements were torn up and formed into barricades, and everything showed a probable renewal of the "day of the barricades" before described. When Mazarin heard the news of the disturbed state of Paris, he ordered troops to occupy the bridges which separate the city into two parts, so as to cut off the communication from one to the other. But the multitude, who had provided

themselves with weapons from every available source, attacked the troops with so much vigour and firmness, that the latter were obliged to quit two of the bridges, and could only succeed in maintaining one of them, the Pont Royal. The reason for this defeat was to be found in the circumstance, that the people had so barricaded the passages from one part of the city to another, that the soldiers were almost deprived of the power of acting vigorously.

At this period Cardinal Retz presented himself on the scene. He was at that time called Coadjutor de Retz, that is, coadjutor or assistant to the Archbishop of Paris, with the right of succession to that see. He appeared, in his clerical robes, before the people on one of the bridges, and harangued them, exhorting them to return to their homes. The reply to this exhortation was, that Broussel's liberty was what they sought, and that they would not abandon their arms until they had obtained it. This answer induced Retz to go to the queen-regent, and by stating the position of the metropolis, to advise her to yield to the popular demand. This appeal was for a long time as ineffectual to her as it had been to the people; but a further view of the case showed the propriety of not pushing matters to extremities. Marshal de Meillerai was therefore sent out to tell the populace, that when they had laid down their arms, and had dispersed, Broussel should be liberated. But the Marshal having unluckily adopted the expedient of advancing toward them with a drawn sword, and shouting "Vive le Roi;" the people, thinking his intentions hostile, attacked him, upon which he instantly shot one man dead. He then galloped to another street, but so many persons had assembled, that he thought it prudent to return to the palace, having done more harm than good in his mission. Soon after this, the populace returned to their own houses, but with the intent of using redoubled vigour on the following day.

Before the people had begun to assemble on the morning of the twenty-seventh, two companies of Swiss guards marched to secure one of the city gates. This immediately excited the people, who seized their arms, attacked the troops, killed many of them, and put the rest to flight. About the same time, the chancellor Seguier received orders from court to proceed to the parliament, and forbid any discussion respecting the subject then under agitation, a tyrannical proceeding which did not fail to excite still further the resentment of the populace. Having tried in vain to pass some of the barricades in his way to the Palais de Justice (where the sittings of the parliament were held), the chancellor was proceeding along the Quay des Augustins; when the people attacked him, and forced him to take refuge in the Hotel de Luynes, situated on that quay. But they did not leave him in quiet: beating in the outer door, they searched for him in all the apartments, and were just about to set fire to the house, when a party of military came up, and succeeded in conveying him safely in a coach towards the Palais, but not without a fierce contest; for the mob pursued the soldiers, fired on them, and killed several; and some shots which were fired at the carriage killed two gentlemen sitting near the chancellor, and wounded his daughter, the Duchess de Sully.

All these events were soon known in every corner of Paris; the people flew to arms; and by ten o'clock, there were no fewer than two hundred barricades constructed in different parts. Flags and banners were hoisted on these barricades, and behind each of them was posted a band of armed citizens, ready to dispute the passage of the military. Still the regent and the minister remained obstinately bent on maintaining their position. The parliament proceeded in a body to the Palais, and requested the liberation of Broussel, as the only means of restoring peace to the city. All their importunities were vain: the regent remained unmoved, and the parliament retired as they came. But while they were proceeding to the Palais de Justice, a mob orator advanced, but without any violence or coarseness, and demanded of the president whether he had brought back Broussel. The president replied that he had not, and that they were returning back to the parliament house to deliberate on their future plans. "No," said the man, "you must return to the Palais, and bring Broussel with you: without him you shall not pass." Others of the mob were more intemperate; seized the president by the beard, and threatened to set the Palais on fire, and stab the regent and Mazarin. The president and members were therefore forced to return to the Palais; and after an ineffectual attempt to prevail on the regent, a council was held, at which Mazarin expressed the necessity of yielding

to the wishes of the people. Broussel was then liberated, and was received with every demonstration of joy by the people; after which they returned to their homes; and the chains and barricades were removed from the streets by order of parliament.—Thus ended the "Barricade of the Fronde."

A long series of contests ensued, during the minority of Louis the Fourteenth, between the court party on the one hand, and the magistracy and parliament on the other. The queen regent, and her minister Mazarin, showed a strong disposition to usurp more than the recognized regal authority; while the parliament were equally resolved to resist any encroachments on the public liberty.

During these turmoils, a circumstance occurred which shows how much moral dignity and firmness are felt by the hot and violent. The discontent and hostility between parties had risen to such a height, that some of the *Fronde* were thinking of calling in foreign aid, to put down the regent and Mazarin. But the more moderate of the magistrates and of the parliament, disgusted at the attempts to ruin the best interests of the country by such means, resolved nobly to forego their claims on the court party, rather than adopt such a step. The president, Molé, therefore signed a sort of treaty or compact with the court, by which the evils of foreign interference were avoided. But great was the indignation of the populace, and of the seditious leaders, at this compact: the leaders were perplexed, and hardly knew how to assent to such a course. It became Molé's duty to announce the treaty to the parliament, and it required all his firmness to do so. A ferocious crowd, crying "Treason! No peace! No Mazarin!" surrounded the house of parliament, and the throng within the walls were nearly as violent as those without; for the number was small of those who took Molé's sagacious view of the evils of civil discord. Molé stood up, and read the treaty, amid the clamorous opposition of the assembly. The prince of Conti, one of the nobles of what was called the popular cause, exclaimed against a peace concluded without his knowledge and that of his friends. "You are the cause of it," retorted Molé, "for whilst we were at Ruel, you were treating with the enemies of France; you were inviting the Austrians, the Spaniards, and the enemies of France, to invade the kingdom."—"It is not without the consent of several members of the parliament that we took this step," replied the prince, without denying the charge. "Name them!" exclaimed Molé firmly, "name the traitors, that we may proceed to try and judge them." The firmness of the president at once awed the nobles, and won over the majority of the assembled magistrates to support him. The only hope of the favourers of sedition was in the rabble, who, excited and incensed, had penetrated into the passages and corridors of the house. Some, with poniards and arms, demanded the head of the president:—"Give us up the *Grande Barbe*!" (*long beard*, for this they called him.) Molé heard them with unshaken courage. Those around him besought him to escape by a private passage. "Justice never skulks," replied Molé, "nor will I, its representative. I may perish, but will never commit an act of cowardice which would give hardihood to the mob." In accordance with this moral firmness, Molé walked fearlessly down the principal staircase, through the mob, who were awed and subdued by his magnanimity, and allowed him to pass unhurt. De Retz, one of the most powerful of the opposing nobles, has recorded, "that he could perceive in the countenance of Molé, while threatened by the fury of the multitude, not a movement that did not indicate imperturbable firmness, and at the same time a presence and elevation of mind greater than firmness, and almost supernatural."

SIEGE OF PARIS BY CONDÉ.

Perhaps at no other period in French history were the contests for power so varied and so changeable as at the period of which we are speaking. The queen-regent (for Louis the Fourteenth was not yet old enough to assume the reins of government) had disgusted all parties by her pertinacious retention of Mazarin, who had been an Italian monk, in the ministry. The prince of Condé, and other members of royal blood, formed one party; Molé, and the moderate parliamentarians formed another; the violent members, together with the lower classes, formed a third; while De Retz intrigued with all in succession, as best served his own interest. It was during the existence of this state of things, that Paris was besieged by the prince of Condé. Marshal Turenne had compelled the prince to

retire from several parts of the city, so that he resolved to make the Fauxbourg St. Antoine the scene of his attack. On the 2nd of July, 1652, Condé was stationed with his forces in the principal street of the fauxbourg, having the town, with its gates shut against him, on the one extremity of his line, and the royal army under Turenne at the other. Mazarin and the young Louis the Fourteenth were on the height which now contains the Cemetery of Père la Chaise, spectators of the ensuing action, the young monarch being most anxious to witness the defeat of the prince who had rebelled against him. The gate of St. Antoine was immediately under the Bastille, the guns from which commanded the three roads diverging from the gate. This position, into which Condé had been induced to throw himself by a miscalculation of his opponents' movements, was such that it seemed hardly possible he could escape being cut to pieces. The contest commenced by a triple attack, made against him by divisions of the royal army, headed by three personal enemies of his. The attack from the left was defeated by the prince's valour; and he then turned his attention to the central street, where the attack was led on by Turenne in person, and a fierce encounter ensued. Turenne was afterwards asked, "Did you see Condé during the action?"—"I must have seen a dozen Condés," was the reply; "he multiplied himself." The contest on the right was no less severe: the nobles of the prince's party were nearly all slain, among the rest La Rochefoucauld, the celebrated author of the *Maxims*. Condé, beaten at every point, now made a circuit round the city, endeavouring to obtain an entrance at some one of the gates. He was refused entrance at all of them, except at the last and trying moment, when the gate of St. Antoine suddenly opened and admitted him, and a fire of guns from the Bastille drove the royal troops from the three roads which had been the scene of their attacks. This unexpected succour came through the aid of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, daughter of the Duke of Orleans. An attachment existed between her and Condé; and when she knew of the distressed state of the latter, she went, assisted by an enraged populace, who were irritated at seeing a rash but generous prince sacrificed to Mazarin, to the municipal officers, and assisted in obtaining from them the order for opening the gate of St. Antoine. She herself directed the firing of the guns, and is said to have applied the first match with her own hand.—More than three thousand men perished in this unhappy encounter.

Of all the miseries that afflict humanity, few are more dreadful than civil war, where brother fights against brother, and father against son,—forgetting kin and country in the heat of party strife. The situation of Paris and its environs was miserable in the extreme. The armies of Turenne and of Condé alternately poured their infliction on the unoffending peasantry. It was represented to the parliament by one of the city authorities, that the excesses of the soldiers were so great, and the devastation so public, that all the houses and farms in the vicinity of Paris had been ruined and rendered totally useless. The soldiers, not content with provisions, had pillaged the furniture and farming implements, seizing the cattle, and demolishing the houses, in order to obtain the materials of which they were built. Laporte, a contemporary writer, says, "The misery of the people was distressing; and in every place through which the court passed, the poor peasants ran there for shelter, thinking themselves there in security from the outrages of the soldiery. They also conducted their starving cattle there, not daring to let them graze in the meadows. When their cattle died, they died themselves, for they had then nothing to subsist on but the charity of the court, which was but limited, each one thinking of himself first. They had no covering from the heat of the day, or the cold winds of night, but beneath sheds and awnings. When mothers died, their children died soon afterwards; and I saw, upon the Pont de Melun, where we went some time after, three dead children lying upon their dead mother. All these miseries sensibly touched the queen-regent: she even, as it was said at St. Germain's, sighed over them, and said that those who had caused them would have an awful account to render to God;—forgetting that she herself was the principal cause." There is a simplicity in this narration which speaks much for its truth.

SPLENDOUR AND POMF OF LOUIS'S COURT.

At length the time arrived when Louis the Fourteenth, having gained his majority, commenced governing in his own right; an event which was looked upon with great joy

by the people, who had been harassed by the ambition of contending parties. But he was a man little worthy of the love of his subjects. He had been educated in the school of Mazarin, and was heard to declare that he preferred Turkish despotism to European forms of government. He insulted on the justice-seat those who presumed to decide against his wishes; and he insulted the cause of morality and virtue by the unblushing and unconcerned licentiousness of his life. But still he possessed many qualities which have seldom failed to prove attractive to the French nation: he loved military renown, and conducted sieges and battles with a degree of sumptuous array that has rarely been equalled. All his court used to accompany him in his campaigns; and the latter became a sort of national show or holiday. Louis's ostentation was excessive. France had never seen a court so brilliant and costly. The language and the dresses of all at court were regulated by strict etiquette,—laws which, as it has been said, "silenced the affections, stifled the natural sentiments, and induced dissimulation." The palaces of his predecessors were not magnificent enough for Louis; he enlarged them,—repaired the old ones, and built new. The expense of constructing the palace of Versailles alone, is said to have amounted to more than 1,200,000 livres, and to have occupied from 20,000 to 30,000 workmen. The most extravagant projects were formed, for embellishing Versailles. At one time the river Loire, at another the Bievre, at a third the Eure, was proposed to be conducted by artificial canals to Versailles. The last-mentioned river was to be brought from a distance of eight leagues; and superb aqueducts, almost equal to those of the Romans, were commenced. A regular camp was formed near the scene of operation, from which no one was suffered to go out, under heavy penalties; nor was any one permitted to speak of the maladies and deaths which occurred among the workmen, from the intensity of their work, and the exhalation of the soil. But a war which broke out caused these works to be abandoned, and they were never afterwards resumed, the money squandered on them being thus rendered useless. All his ministers seemed to vie with each other in pouring the incense of flattery into his ear. The provost of the merchants at Paris also lent himself to the same object, and that, too, at the public expense; for he established an annual gratuity or pension of 440 livres to the rector of the University, on condition that he would, every year on the fifteenth of May, pronounce a panegyric on Louis the Fourteenth.

REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.

But there is a blot more serious than all these on the fame of Louis the Fourteenth: we allude to his treatment of the Protestants. The reader will remember that the Edict of Nantes, notwithstanding some subsequent changes, still guaranteed something like liberty of conscience to the Protestant inhabitants of France. The Court of Rome, constant in its project of exterminating the Protestants, watched all favourable opportunities for doing so, and availed itself of them. The confessors of Louis, who were all Jesuits, and his minister Louvois, who befriended the Jesuits on account of their accommodating religion and relaxed morals, combined together to induce Louis to revoke the Edict of Nantes, an edict which was considered a kind of Magna Charta by the Protestants. La Chaise, a Jesuit confessor to Louis, when he was on the point of death, said to the monarch—"Do not again take a Jesuit for your confessor:—ask me no questions respecting it, for I cannot answer them." The Jesuit, probably, in his last moments, spoke from a sincere feeling of what was the future interest of the king. But his words were slighted; for Louis took into that office Le Tellier, one of the most crafty and cruel of the order.

The first attempts of the Jesuits were to draw away children from their obedience to their Protestant parents, in order that they might be educated in the Catholic faith; and thus sow the seeds of discord between the various members of a family. This was at first done secretly; but in 1661 a law was made, by which boys at fourteen and girls at twelve years of age were considered capable of being converted (although it had hitherto been decreed that they were unable to judge of religious matters at this age). Children were encouraged by the Jesuits, with the aid of caresses and money, to profess Catholicism, and that once done, they were retained in it by violence. The next step was to decree that the children, thus prettendly converted, might marry without the consent of their parents, and that they should not be disinherited for so doing. Those chil-

dren who, after this mock conversion, ventured to return to the faith of their fathers, were first punished by imprisonment, then by being sent to the galleys, and subsequently by confiscation of their property.

A cruel state of domestic war was constantly kept up between parents and their children; for, by two successive orders in council, parents were obliged to support their converted children, and were forced to pension or salary them, according as they grew up; thus embittering some of the most cherished feelings of the human heart; for how could a child love and respect his parents, when he was taught to hold himself superior to them? These iniquitous steps were soon followed by others. In 1664, an order was issued, discharging converted persons from all liability for their debts to Protestants. Gradually those offices which had been considered by the Edict of Nantes open to the Protestants were given to Catholics only. Priests who could be gained over from Protestantism to Catholicism were loaded with benefits; while those who adhered to their faith were by degrees oppressed in various ways; at first mean and paltry, and afterwards more serious. For twenty-five years these persecutions gradually augmented; and, in order to give some idea of their nature, we will first speak of the treatment adopted towards the Protestant clergy, and afterwards to the Protestant laity. The attacks against the liberty of the clergy proceeded somewhat in the following order:—They were first forbidden to deliberate in their synods, unless a royal judge was present. It was interdicted to them to sing psalms, except in the temple, or to bear the name of *pastors*. They were then denied the privilege of preaching each in more than one place, and were forbidden to wear robes. The next step was to prevent the ministers of one province from corresponding with those of another. Afterwards it was declared unlawful for them to sing psalms in their churches while a Catholic procession was passing near, or to preach while the bishop or archbishop was visiting the diocese. Another decree interdicted any increase in the number of ministers. If a Protestant pastor received a convert from Catholicism, the former was condemned to perpetual banishment. Another royal edict ordered that no minister should preach more than three years; and that he should not preach within six leagues of any church which had for any reason been destroyed. Lastly, on October 22, 1685, the Edict of Nantes was revoked, and all the Protestant ministers in France were ordered to leave it in a fortnight; any one returning being liable to sentence of death, and a reward of 5500 livres being offered to any one who should discover a Protestant priest in France.

Meanwhile the Protestant laity experienced a full share of the bitter persecution of the court. (For most of these acts were committed by the court and the Jesuits: the parliament had but little power at that time.) It was customary at that time for manufacturers and artisans to receive certain privileges and monopolies before they could pursue their vocations. About 1664 these privileges began to be denied to Protestants, by which their talents and their industry were paralyzed. The next step was to forbid justices, farmers-general, excise superintendents, &c., to give any subordinate offices to Protestants. This was followed by an ordinance decreeing that all Protestants holding legal offices should instantly yield them up. The weavers, hatters, embroiderers, and other artisans, of the Protestant religion, were forbidden to take apprentices; and Catholics were likewise forbidden to take Protestant apprentices. The next thing attacked was the privilege of Catholics and Protestants marrying together, and, afterwards, the privilege of Protestants marrying at all, under a penalty of 3000 livres. All persons of the Protestant persuasion holding any offices whatever were ordered to give them up. The booksellers and printers were next attacked by being forbidden to continue their employments, under pain of confiscation of all their goods. This was followed by a similar edict against physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and all members of the medical profession, who, if Protestants, were forbidden to exercise their profession. The edicts then proceeded to higher ground, and expelled Protestant members of parliament from their seats. Protestant academies and schools were gradually mown down in a similar way:—first, nothing but reading, writing, and arithmetic were to be taught; then, that there should be but one school and one school-master in each town; then, that the Protestant churches should be the only school-rooms; and, lastly, that the schools and colleges should be abolished altogether. Even hospitals and cemeteries did not escape this unhallowed

persecution: the hospitals which the Protestants had established in Paris were suppressed, and the furniture and funds given to the Hôtel Dieu (the principal hospital in Paris); and what was still more cruel, Catholics were forbidden to receive sick Protestants into their houses. Several attempts were made by miscreants, excited, as is supposed, by others, to destroy the Protestant cemeteries.

The work of conversion (if it may be called such) proceeded all this time. The king gave up part of his revenue for the express purpose of *buying* converts. A regular market price was fixed, averaging about six livres per head, for those who consented to change their faith:—"the converts themselves were pleased with this golden eloquence, less learned than that of Bossuet but much more persuasive." We may readily believe that those who thus sold their religion for a trifle had no great respect for it. But it was a far different and more distressing sight to see tender infants inveigled away. We have said that fourteen years of age for boys and twelve for girls were deemed an age when they might be converted: this period was afterwards altered to seven years in each sex, and subsequently to *five*; so that, at five years of age, a child might be taken forcibly from its Protestant parents, placed into the hands of Catholics, and the parents obliged to pay a regular sum for its support. When a person, whether adult or child, had once consented to this sort of conversion, they were for ever after bound to the Catholic religion under dreadful penalties: if they obtained the name of *relapses*, they were condemned to the galleys.

The finishing stroke to this series of persecution was directed against the churches themselves. Several attempts had been made by the most brutal of the populace to fire the Protestant churches; but it was not till the Edict of Nantes was revoked that it became legal so to do. Six hundred Protestant churches were demolished, and the Protestants then repeated their prayers and sang their hymns in fields, and in holes and corners. They had neither pastors nor churches, and could only exercise their religion by stealth. "Why, it may be asked," says Dulaure, in his *Histoire de Paris*, "why did not these unfortunates flee from an ungrateful country, a cruel government, which had for so many years heaped constantly-accumulating oppression on them? Why, when they had been robbed of their liberty, of their rights, when they had been excluded from employments, and from the exercise of their talents and industry,—when their children had been torn from them, and taught to detest their parents;—why, when strife had been excited between the members of the same family,—when a despotic control over their consciences, and an absolute empire over their thoughts, had arisen,—when, finally, everything that an imagination fruitful in wickedness could devise had been hurled against them,—why, it may be asked, did they not escape by flight from so many outrages, persecutions, and sufferings?" The answer to this question is, that they remained in the country, bound to it by ties of home and kindred, until nature could bear no more; and then they emigrated to other countries; and it was not until more than 100,000 of the most intelligent and industrious citizens had taken refuge in foreign lands, that Louis perceived his error, and found out that the financial resources of the country were suffering through a series of acts which he had intended should only influence the religion of his subjects. England received an immense number of the expatriated French, chiefly silk-manufacturers; as did the north of Germany; and these two countries derived a benefit from the circumstance, only equalled by the loss which the French nation sustained.

MANNERS OF THE PARISIANS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

It frequently happens that the manners and the tone of moral feeling among a people can be gathered from pictures painted about the period of which we are speaking. Dulaure has instanced an engraving which he thinks strikingly illustrates many of the Parisian customs and follies in the time of Louis the Fourteenth. The print represents a view of the Pont Neuf. On one part of the bridge (which contained houses) were duellists fighting in open day: some of the combatants are wounded, and lie extended on the ground; while others are fighting with fury—the passers-by looking on with indifference. At another part are numerous beggars, the women with children in their arms, and the men running, with their hats in their hands, by the doors of some splendid carriages which are passing along, soliciting alms. Further on are seen some robbers, who

appear to have booty with them. Near the statue of Henry the Fourth is a mountebank, surrounded with gazers; and not far from them are men quarrelling and fighting. On the opposite side of the way is a dentist, mounted on a stage, exercising his avocation, surrounded by a crowd: a woman and a child are lifting the cloak of one of the spectators, and putting their hands in his pockets. Vendors of wine and of provisions are seen at their stalls; and near them is a person who has been robbed, drawing his sword on the robber, and the watch just coming to interfere. In the middle of the street are seen soldiers, armed with helmets, cuirasses, and long pikes.

There exists also a long letter, written about the same period by a foreigner residing in France, a few extracts from which will assist in conveying some notion of Paris and the Parisians at the termination of the seventeenth century—"It is scarcely too much to say that all Paris is one huge hotel: everywhere may be seen public-houses, taverns, and hotels: kitchens are steaming at all hours, because the people eat at all hours. The tables are abundantly supplied: the Parisians drink out of small glasses, but very frequently; and they never drink without inviting their companions to do the same. The common people are seldom intoxicated, except on saints' days, when they do no work. There are no people in the world more industrious, but who possess so little, because they spend their all on their back and their belly; and yet they are always content. There are many persons who, when they go from home, neglect to close their doors, for they scorn robbers; all their patrimony being on their backs. The females are very fond of cherishing little puppies, whom they treat with the utmost tenderness: the more ugly these dogs are, the more are they prized. The women have the privilege of going masked whenever they please, that they may conceal themselves: with a mask of black velvet on their faces they will go to church (as if to conceal themselves from God) just as they would to a ball or to the theatre. . . . The tailors of Paris have more trouble to invent than to cut out; for if a dress lasts longer than the life of a flower, it becomes out of fashion: it thus arises that there are large numbers of dealers who live by buying and selling cast-off clothes: and persons can, at a small expense, exchange their own dress for another. . . . Politeness is more studied in France than in any other country: persons of quality exhibit it with much taste; citizens mingle affectation with it; and the common people acquit themselves with some mixture of coarseness. There are masters who teach the art of politeness. . . . Luxury and good living might be two benefits rather than evils, if it were only the rich who lived splendidly; but emulation has made the same taste pass to others, to whom it is ruinous. It would thus seem that Paris is approaching continually towards its end, if it be true, as an ancient has said, that 'Excessive expense is a sure sign of a dying city.' But it is probable that now, when lacqueys and cooks begin to wear scarlet and plumes, and that gold and silver are become common upon their clothes, we shall see this excessive luxury terminate, there being nothing which makes gilded robes so much despised by the rich as to see them on the persons of the low-born. . . . If you ever go to Paris, take care never to go into a shop where they sell trinkets or useless things. The dealer gives you a description of all his merchandize, and talks so fast and so much, and so flatters you, that he induces you insensibly to purchase something. When you enter his shop, he begins by showing you everything that you do not want, and afterwards that which you do want, and he talks you over, so that you spend all your money in purchasing things for more than they are worth. It is by these means that he pays himself for the assiduity and the continual trouble which he takes in uselessly showing, a hundred times a day, his merchandize to those inquisitive persons who wish to see all without purchasing any. . . . Everything may be bought at Paris, except the art of keeping a secret: the French say that that is the business of a confessor." With many of the vices incident to a great city still remaining amongst them, the Parisians have since wiped off many of those blots on their character.

CONTESTS DURING THE MINORITY OF LOUIS FIFTEENTH.

In the year 1715, Louis the Fourteenth sank into the grave, worn out with old age, sickness, and domestic troubles, and was succeeded by his great-grandson, under the title of Louis the Fifteenth. It happened unfortunately for France, that Louis the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth, all came to the crown during their minority,

thus making necessary the appointment of regents. This is generally a misfortune; for in a country governed on monarchial principles, the name, the position, and the prerogative of a king have weight with his subjects; but a regency is apt to be swayed by contests of an ambitious character, frequently for those who had wished to obtain the appointment of regent. We thus find that Mary de Medicis, widow of Henry the Fourth, was, with her Italian counsellors, continually embroiled during the minority of Louis the Thirteenth; and that Anne of Austria, widow of the last-named monarch, was, under the guidance of Mazarin, equally involved in stormy disputes during the minority of Louis the Fourteenth: lastly, on the death of that monarch, the Duke of Orleans, his nephew, was appointed regent during the minority of Louis the Fifteenth. This last appointment was fully as much contested and envied as the preceding. The Jesuits, by whom Louis the Fourteenth had been surrounded nearly all his life, wished to retain the power which they had acquired by instilling the same despotic ideas into the young king's mind as had influenced the mind of the old monarch; and for this purpose they had persuaded Louis the Fourteenth, in his last moments, to make a will by which he declared that the Duc de Maine, one of his illegitimate sons, should be appointed regent during the minority of Louis the Fifteenth, since the Jesuits had influence over him. On the other hand, the nobles of France had been greatly humbled by Louis the Fourteenth, and, thirsting to regain their power, they looked forward to the Duke of Orleans, an ardent and ambitious prince of the blood royal, to lead them back to their ancient power and prosperity: they therefore looked with hope at the probable appointment of the duke to the regency. On the day after the death of the old monarch, therefore, the parliament assembled, to hear the will read, the opposing parties looking with anxiety for the fulfilment of their wishes. The will being read, it was found that a council of regency was appointed, the members of which consisted of the old ministers. The Duke of Orleans was appointed its president; but the majority of the members, with the Duke of Maine at their head, were in the Jesuit interest: moreover, the latter was to have the care of the young king's person. The parliament, who disliked the Jesuit supremacy, without hesitation declared these provisions null, broke the testament of Louis the Fourteenth ere he was cold in his coffin, and proclaimed the Duke of Orleans regent.

There now ensued a series of contests between the Jesuits on the one hand, and the regent on the other, which ended in the ascendancy of the latter; and Orleans then began to examine into the state of the kingdom. The financial condition of the country was very deplorable: the expensive wars of the preceding reign, and the expulsion of the industrious Protestants, had reduced the national exchequer to the lowest ebb. Various schemes were proposed to get rid of the difficulties. One of the ministers proposed a national bankruptcy, by which all those who had lent money to government would lose it; but the iniquity of such a transaction was too glaring to permit its adoption. Instead of this, the coin was called in, and a new coinage issued, the weight of each piece being *one fifth* less than the former weight, which fifth passed into the national treasury. After this, one of the most extraordinary schemes that ever disturbed the brains of a nation was seized on with avidity by all parties as a means of recruiting the national treasury: this was the celebrated *Mississippi scheme*, of which we shall shortly give an account in a separate article.

REIGNS OF LOUIS THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH, AND GRADUAL APPROACH OF THE REVOLUTION.

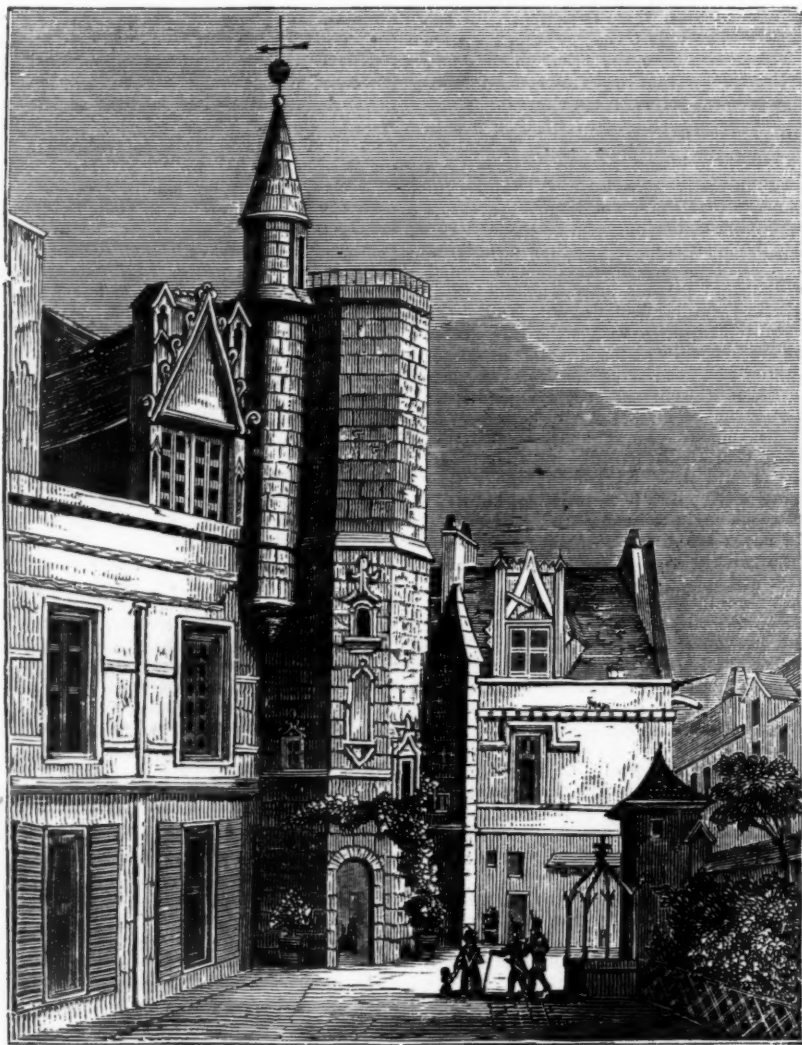
When Louis the Fifteenth attained an age which qualified him for the performance of regal duties he entered on the kingly power. But here commenced a striking illustration of the evils which follow from weakness of character. Louis had been educated under the care of an amiable, but mild and weak man; and as there was a natural timidity in the young king's character, that timidity was aggravated rather than alleviated by a somewhat similar character in his tutor. It has been said by an historian of France—"Diffidence is the great bane of the privately educated, especially when they are afterwards to mingle with persons not on an equality with them. It matters not whether they descend or ascend: Louis the Fifteenth could no more set himself at his ease in the company of his courtiers, than an upstart could have done in the same society. Bashfulness becomes

irresolution in one born to influence and to act; and this apparently venial quality was the chief cause of all the crimes and follies of the reign." The Regent Orleans had mingled the most licentious conduct and profligate manners with a good deal of energy and spirit in political affairs. But Louis the Fifteenth allowed his weakness of character to be worked upon by his dissolute courtiers; his bad traits were brought out; his good ones were stifled; and in process of time he became one of the most contemptible monarchs that ever sat upon an European throne. His dissolute life fully equalled that of the regent; but the latter, in addition to political affairs, occupied a portion of his time in cultivating science and the fine arts: Louis the Fifteenth, not content with shaking off the burden of politics, and transferring it to any crafty minister who was willing to accept it, occupied some of his spare time in making pastry and soups in a kitchen which he had built for himself. This unworthy state of things was one of the causes which led to the French revolution. Right-thinking and moral men, however much they might reverence monarchy, could not shut their eyes and ears to the iniquitous proceedings of the courts of Louis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth; and a dissatisfied feeling was thereby engendered. This feeling, as frequently happens, fell heavily on one who did not deserve it; for Louis the Sixteenth, who was a mild and amiable, though not a talented monarch, was doomed to suffer for the errors of his predecessors. We shall have hereafter to mention some of the other causes that led to the revolution; but we wished on the present occasion to

say a word on the impossibility of a monarch leading an immoral life without sowing the seeds of evil both to himself and to his subjects.

There were no political events in this reign which particularly affected the city of Paris. Constant wars were being carried on against various states of Europe, sometimes to the advantage, but more frequently to the disadvantage of France. These, however, do not form any part of our present subject. On the 10th of May, 1774, Louis the Fifteenth died, his death having been accelerated by his dissolute life; and he was succeeded by his grandson, Louis the Sixteenth, then about twenty years of age. His father had, unlike his grandfather, been a man of pious and moral character, and the young Louis was bred up in an abhorrence of vice and immorality. But a storm was lowering which his virtues could not dispel. He had not been one year seated on the throne before complaints and disturbances arose, which continued with but little intermission, until a brutal rabble brought him to the scaffold. The eventful history of the late years of his reign, in which the city of Paris played a conspicuous part, will form part of the subject of another Supplement, in which we shall endeavour to give a rapid glance at both the revolutions which France has since that time undergone.

The population of Paris, about the beginning of the last century, is supposed to have amounted to rather more than half a million. By the year 1760 it had reached 570,000. By the end of the reign of Louis the Sixteenth it is supposed that the population amounted to 630,000.



HOTEL DE CLUNI.